

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

NOFORM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: SPECIAL SPANISH INTERESTS

1. SUMMARY. WHILE CSCE WILL OBVIOUSLY NOT BE A MAJOR SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION DURING THE PRESIDENT'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO MADRID, THE SPANISH HAVE A VERY PARTICULAR APPROACH TO THE CONFERENCE, AND IT MAY THEREFORE BE USEFUL FOR ADDRESSEES TO BE AWARE OF PARTICULAR SPANISH INTERESTS IN CSCE ON THE EVE OF THE MADRID VISIT. THIS TELEGRAM SUMMARIZES SPANISH INTERESTS IN THE CONFERENCE AS WE HAVE OBSERVED THEM IN GENEVA END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL--THE SPANISH TEND TO SEE CSCE AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REJOIN THE MAINSTREAM OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY AND THUS TO ENHANCE THEIR CLAIM TO A LEGITIMATE VOICE IN
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THE AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT. WITH THIS BACKGROUND, THEY

HAVE TAKEN A FAIRLY ACTIVIST ROLE IN CSCE, HAVE SPOKEN OUT ON VIRTUALLY ALL ISSUES, EVEN THOSE OF RELATIVELY MINOR IMPORTANCE TO THEM, AND HAVE PARTICULARLY SOUGHT A ROLE AS HONEST BROKER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THIS ACTIVISM HAS BEEN USEFUL TO THEM IN DEVELOPING THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

3. NOT IN NATO BUT NOT NEUTRAL--THE SPANISH HAVE HAD A UNIQUE POSITION IN CSCE, SINCE THEY REFUSE TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE NATO GROUP, AND ALSO REFUSE TO JOIN IN THE CONSULTATIONS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED AMONG THE NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS. THE SPANISH ADAMANTLY REFUSE THE NEUTRAL LABEL. THIS HAS POSED CONSULTATION PROBLEMS FOR THE SPANISH DELEGATION, SINCE THEY DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY CAUCUS. TO REMEDY THIS THEY HAVE INSISTED THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE BLOC-TO-BLOC, BUT RATHER SHOULD BE AMONG ALL 35 PARTICIPATING STATES, AS EQUALS. THEY HAVE ALSO SOUGHT FREQUENT BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, AND HAVE TRIED HARD TO MAINTAIN A CLOSE, BUT INFORMAL, PATTERN OF INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND CONSULTATION BETWEEN US AND SPANISH DELS. WE BELIEVE THE SPANISH APPRECIATE THIS.

4. THE TUG OF THE MEDITERRANEAN--THE SPANISH, ALONG WITH THE OTHER MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL STATES WHICH ARE CSCE PARTICIPANTS, HAVE BEEN STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY MEDITERRANEAN CONSIDERATIONS IN THEIR APPROACH TO THE CONFERENCE. THE SPANISH WERE ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND STRONGEST ADVOCATES OF SOME FORM OF PARTICIPATION BY THE ARAB MEDITERRANEAN STATES, AND HAVE WORKED THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A GREATER MEDITERRANEAN CONTENT IN THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS. UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY THEY WERE ENTHUSIASTICALLY PRESSING FOR THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES (NPMS) TO BE INVITED TO STAGE III, BUT THEIR PROBLEMS WITH MOROCCO HAVE NOW CAUSED THEM TO RECONSIDER. EVIDENTLY AFRAID THAT A MOROCCAN REP COULD EMBARRASS THEM IN A STAGE III SPEECH, BUT STILL DESIRING TO PURSUE THE IDEA OF MEDITERRANEAN PARTICIPATION, THE SPANISH HAVE NOW PROPOSED THAT ALGERIAN FOMIN BOUTEFLIKA BE INVITED TO STAGE III IN HIS CAPACITY AS UNGA PRESIDENT. THIS IDEA IS OPPOSED BY THE SOVIETS AND A GOOD MANY OTHER DELS, BUT
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IS THIS FAR THE ONLY COMPROMISE WHICH HAS BEEN PROPOSED TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE OF NPMS REPRESENTATION. THE SPANISH HAVE DISCUSSED IT WITH THE ALGERIANS AND ARE CURRENTLY PUSHING IT WITH DELEGATIONS HERE.

5. NORTH-SOUTH CONSIDERATIONS--CSCE IS USUALLY THOUGHT OF IN EAST-WEST TERMS, BUT FOR THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF EUROPE NORTH-SOUTH CONSIDERATIONS MAY ALMOST AS

IMPORTANT WITHIN THE CONFERENCE. THIS FEATURE EMERGES IN MANY CONFERENCE SUBJECT AREAS; PRINCIPLES, TRADE, INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT, TOURISM, MIGRANT LABOR, AND SO FORTH. IN MANY OF THESE AREAS THE SOUTHER TIER OF PARTICIPATING EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE DISCOVERED (IF THEY WERE UNAWARE OF IT BEFORE) THAT THEY HAVE A STRONG COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS WHICH SURPASSES IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THUS SPANISH, YUGOSLAVS, TURKS, GREEKS, ITALIANS AND PORTUGUESE HAVE CLOSELY PARALLEL INTERESTS IN THE CSCE TEXTS ON MIGRANT LABOR AND TOURISM, WHICH OFTEN RUN COUNTER TO THE INTERESTS OF INDUSTRIALIZED NORTHERN COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE FRG, FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND. THE ROMANIANS SOMETIMES JOIN THIS GROUP AND EVEN BULGARIA HAS BEEN KNOWN TO MAINTAIN SYMPATHETIC SILENCE WHEN SUCH NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES COME INTO PLAY.

6. A PERMANENT FORUM--THE SPANISH WOULD CLEARLY LIKE TO SEE CSCE CONVERTED INTO A PERMANENT FORUM OF SOME KIND, WHICH WILL GIVE THEM A CONTINUING OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS AND TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN EUROPE. THIS IS EVIDENTLY A HIGH PRIORITY FOR THE SPANISH IN CSCE, AND THEY HAVE THUS GIVEN EARLY AND ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT TO THE MOST AMBITIOUS PROPOSALS FOR FOLLOW-UP MACHINERY.

7. CSCE PRINCIPLES--THE SPANISH HAVE THEIR OWN INTERESTS TO SAFEGUARD IN THE NEGOTIATION OF CSCE PRINCIPLES, AND THEY FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS SUBJECT AREA MOST CLOSELY. THEY ARE NOW VERY INTERESTED IN THE EMERGING SOLUTIONS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS AND QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE.

8. MILITARY ASPECTS--IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE SPANIARDS
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DO NOT CAUCUS WITH EITHER NATO OR NEUTRALS, THEY SPEAK WITH A RECOGNIZED INDEPENDENT VOICE ON MILITARY MATTERS. SINCE THEY HAVE GENERALLY SUPPORTED WESTERN POSITIONS, BUT OFTEN FROM A UNIQUE ANGLE OR WITH A DIFFERENT PERCEPTION THAN OTHERS, THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THIS SUBJECT AREA HAS BEEN VALUABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE. THE SPANIARDS ARE JUSTIFIABLY PLEASED AT HAVING SPONSORED THE ONE "NEW" CBM SINCE HELSINKI THAT HAS PROVED GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE, AND IS NOW MENTALLY REGISTERED. THIS MEASURE CALLS FOR THE PROMOTION OF EXCHANGES OF MILITARY VISITS AMONG PARTICIPATING STATES.

9. TIMING AND THE PORTUGUESE CONNECTION--THE SPANISH HAVE CONSISTENTLY FAVORED CONCLUDING CSCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND EVIDENTLY STILL PREFER A STAGE III SUMMIT IN JULY.

HOWEVER, LIKE OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THEY WOULD CERTAINLY BE RELUCTANT TO GO TO STAGE III IN THE FACE OF A HEAVY-HANDED COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER IN LISBON. OBVIOUSLY, THE SPANISH FEEL EVEN MORE STRONGLY THAN THEIR NEIGHBORS THE FACT THAT PORTUGAL IS THE TRUE TEST OF SOVIET INTENTIONS IN EUROPE, AND THAT A FAILURE TO PLAY ACCORDING TO THE RULES THERE WOULD MAKE A MOCKERY OF THE CSCE RESULTS. THEY WILL BE WATCHING EVENTS IN PORTUGAL CLOSELY AND THE SITUATION THERE WILL BE A KEY ELEMENT IN THEIR THINKING ON TIMING AND LEVEL OF STAGE III. DALE

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